1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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A Mapuche homestead

[frontispiece]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, which contains what is probably the first "description of the Araucanians ever penned,"[7] the Indians were already good husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa?*], madi [*maui?*], pepper, and beans. . . ."[8]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[9] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and intensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[10]

[7] Graham, 1907, p. 1161.

[8] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[9] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1909, II: 288–330; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 74–122.

[10] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig. 2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and woven into rugs or garments by women.

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[11]

[11] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed eaten. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

342 homes a partition was used to separate the "kitchen" from the living quarters.

342 Despite uniformity of construction and furnishings, there are
356 striking differences in tidiness from house to house. Some women keep their floors more evenly packed and more neatly swept than do others, and occupants vary in the amount of care with which they exclude dogs, chickens, pigs, and other
[23] animals. In a few instances large animals such as horses or oxen are sheltered indoors during inclement weather, with consequences that can easily be imagined.

342 Religious rites no longer accompany the occupancy of a new house, but the owner customarily provides food and drink for an all-night celebration for his helpers and friends. A literal housewarming takes place on these occasions, as extra fires are lighted on the floor.[22] It is thought that heated air rising from within, with the downward pressure of cold air outside, will make the thatch roof fit more tightly. A family may even postpone moving into a new *ruka* until the first rainy day in order to be sure that conditions are right for making it snug and weatherproof.

On none of the reductions that I visited in 1948 did I notice houses with more than one doorway, or with separate compartments for the use of a man's wives or married sons.[23] Structures
[39] with zinc, tin, or even tile roofs may be seen from time to time, but these are more likely to be storerooms or barns than habitations, as the Mapuche claim that conventional *rukas* are more comfortable. Nevertheless, one innovation has become widespread. Many dwellings are built with plank walls to a height of three to four feet and are thatched the rest of the way. As a
[47] rule, owners still build their own houses with the help of volunteers, but here and there I was shown an exceptional structure that had been built by hired carpenters from a near-by town. Often when a new *ruka* is put up the old one is converted into a barn for the use of livestock.

[22] Cf. Hensen, 1930, pp. 155 ff.

[23] Arrangements of this sort are frequently mentioned. See, for example, Smith, 1855, pp. 295–96; and Hensen, 1930, pp. 157–59.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

overheated and tired, poured some water or *mudai* from a jug at the altar to the ground, took a long drink, and then sat on a small stool facing the cross. While she rested, a man began to beat with drumsticks on the *kul-trufi*, and three performers staged the famed ostrich dance, *choike purun*. At the start, a somewhat elderly little man in tattered shirt and trousers, bareheaded and barefooted, accompanied by two young men moved to a point twenty to thirty feet east of the altar, while the other celebrants grouped themselves to the west, in an informal pack about the *machi*. For the ostrich dance, the old man affixed some sleigh bells to his waist, and the younger men had leaves bound to their foreheads (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1). Across the shoulders all three held shawls in such a fashion that they could be spread or brought together by arm movements to suggest the wings of a bird. In time to the drum's beating, the ostrich men danced toward the altar, passed it counterclockwise and returned to their starting place. The dancers gestured and posed as birds, sometimes extending one foot and then the other, flapping their shawls in and out, bobbing their heads, and turning their bodies from side to side. At one point the leader, who was really sweating profusely, bent from the waist, struck his head into a pail of water next to the altar, and raised his buttocks in imitation of a drinking bird. The audience laughed loudly in appreciation of his antics.[25]

While the ostrich dancers were performing, a group of more than fifty mounted men, led by standard-bearers carrying the Chilean flag and a black cloth affixed to a pole, formed in ranks of four, and began to gallop in a wide circuit clockwise around the entire sacred area.[26] Whenever they came abreast of the altar on the east they cried, "Ya, ya, YAI!" At intervals they charged eastward up a little hill, stopped suddenly, dismounted, bared their heads, and knelt briefly in prayer. Then they would remount and resume their circuits. As the Araucanians are

[25] Manquilef (1914, p. 187) called the ostrich dance comic.

[26] Similar circuits are made on various ceremonial occasions, to keep out or frighten off evil spirits (*ibid.*, pp. 181–83). Theoretically, they should be made in multiples of four.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *awn*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.* Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kul-trafi*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

* By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PLATE 1

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FIG. 1. Young boy driving an oxcart.

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FIG. 2. Little boys with oxen raking a newly plowed field.

[end plate 1]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE III

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FIG. 1. Backing the caravan into place at Cautinche.

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FIG. 2. Reverend Juan Antimo with his wife and five of their children.

[end plate 3]

4 Latcham F 4 (1888-1911) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

By R. E. Latcham,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

The Araucanos, or the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, have one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborígenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía*, by Tomás Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautín valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilization. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also saw him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual tents or skin huts.

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170-180.

Lenoham F-6 (1988-1991) 1989 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race as among the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new animals and plants, other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the haughty Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a stern, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incaic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their tribe from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed transversely between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In these earlier days men and women alike wore their hair long and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured woollen band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the softer skins, using spines needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes south of the 33rd degree. There

4:Latcham 7-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *maki* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 552

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*Fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. [137]

But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *pińon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from [423] generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare.

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal [726] quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual assent during this period.

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pengé* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *tuke* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *kaudkwiu*, *payais* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *qui* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1999 SC4 Araucanians SC4

[241] them in all their wanderings, had a chisel-like point, generally charred to give a greater resistance.

Later on the plough, first introduced by the Spaniards, was rudely imitated by the Indians. Their first attempt was simply a long-forked pole, the shorter arm of which was pointed. Over the fork a heavy stone was stretched, and a short handle added. It was drawn by four or six men.

This form was afterwards modified, by being made in two parts; the body, which was shod with iron at the point, and the pole. The handle passed through both, and was wedged.

This plough is still used, not only by the Indians, but all over Chile, in the more rural parts, and even many of the larger farms still employ it, although the iron plough is rapidly taking its place.

The harrows used consist of a number of thorny branches lashed together and weighted by heavy logs.

Their harvests are threshed out by troops of mares. A circle is enclosed by palings, the corn is spread on the beaten floor, till the grain is trampled out. It is then winnowed by tossing from one pile to another with wooden shovels.

In the Central and Northern provinces the Indians had learnt the art of irrigation from the Incas, but in the south the frequent rains rendered this unnecessary.

[242] All the lighter work is performed by the women, the men only taking part in the ploughing and threshing.

Formerly all agricultural and other work was undertaken for the benefit of the family or clan, but now individual rights are gradually being asserted, especially by those Indians who have been most brought in contact with civilized customs.

Among those Indians who live in the forest region, the land is prepared for sowing by burning a piece of the undergrowth, where the larger trees appear in fewer numbers. This operation is frequently performed twice. The smaller roots are then grubbed out, and the ground prepared in the ordinary way.

Before the settlement of the Indian territory by the Chilian Government, it was seldom that the same plot was planted more than once, but of late, since the Indians have become confined to special grounds allotted to them, it has become customary to sow the same plot over and over again, although occasionally they allow a plot to lie fallow.

[231] The Araucano keeps considerable flocks and herds, especially of sheep and breed mares, and occasionally horned cattle. The milk both of the mares and cows is considerably used, but the production of butter or cheese is very little understood.

[771] *Religion.*—It is extremely difficult to speak with certainty of the religious beliefs of the Araucanos. The Spanish writers of the time of the Conquest did not take the trouble properly to examine or analyse the rites and superstitions of the conquered races, ascribing everything they did not understand, or that did not

5 Cooper E-4 (no date) 1965 SD4 Araucanians SD4

Middle Chile forests, and, owing to the density of the undergrowth, 234
not easily pursued.

The chief large animals hunted for food were the guanaco (*Lama* [136]
glanicoe), the huemul or guemul (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*), and the pudu
(*Pudu pudu*). Many kinds of birds were taken, such as the tinamous [238]
(*Nothoprocta perdicaria*), the huachuris (*Theristicus melanopis*), parrots,
doves, ducks, geese, swans, and others.

The puma (*Felis concolor*) was hunted with dogs; when the animal took to the trees, it was shot with arrows; and small dogs were also used in hunting partridges (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 32, 34). The ordinary weapons employed in hunting were the bow and arrow (cf. infra under Warfare for description) and the sling. Later, in the 17th century, the two-balled bolas was introduced as a hunting weapon. Its use is first recorded in Ercilla; the bolas was apparently absent earlier (McCafferty, 1932, pp. 43–44).

Snares (*lazabi*, *wachi*) of several kinds were employed for trapping birds, but no details on construction are given in the early literature. Cieza describes a multiple *lazabi* or tether snare (European?): slip nooses of horse-tail hair were suspended from a horizontal line which was stretched between two posts embedded in the ground (Means, 1926, pp. 36–37). Clog-snares, spring-pole and treading-pole snares, pole- and perch-snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and trapping nets are not mentioned in our sources, so far as the present writer can discover, and were apparently lacking.

Domesticated animals.—The domesticated animals kept by the 231●
Mapuche-Huilliche were the dog and the llama. The guinea pig was common in Chile (Ovalle, 1888, 12:91; Olivares, 1864, p. 31; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 474–75; Lenz, 1904–10, 1:220), but whether among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in particular is not clear. Neither hens nor alpacas were kept. Tamed guanacos were common in the south of the area.

Two kinds of dog are recorded: a small short-legged one, with long hair, the kilthe; and a medium-sized longer-legged one with shorter hair, the thegua (Latcham, 1922 a, pp. 49–52). The dog was used in hunting.

The llama (*chillihueque*, *rehueque*, *Lama glama*) was reported from the earliest days of the Conquest as far south as the Ancud region where the ordinary Indian possessed 4 to 8 head and the caciques 12 to 20 (Goicoeta, 1882, p. 93). With the introduction of mules and sheep, native llama breeding declined. Some llamas were still kept toward the end of the 18th century among the *Huilliche* (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 350), but are now no longer kept. The llama was bred chiefly [236
for its wool and as a pack animal. It also served a socioeconomic 492]
function in the bride-price, and a religious one in sacrifices. Its

3:Cooper E-4 [no date] 1946 BOA Araucanians BOA

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breed was highly exhibited, but was not eaten except at important social or religious feasts.

The horse was adopted very shortly after the middle of the 16th century. Some horses were stolen from Pedro de Valdivia; 10 others were gotten as spoils of war at the defeat of Alvarado in 1535. Lautaro was seen on horseback in 1536. By 1562, the more general use of horses was under way. Thefts of horses thereafter were common. By the beginning of the 17th century, the *Mapuche* were making

FIGURE 71.—A *Mapuche* saddle-cloth, saddle-cloth, and stirrups. (After Smith, 1854, p. 201.)

much use of cavalry in warfare, although many were as yet not such expert riders, and many were thrown from their mounts in actual fighting. Saddles were earlier made of light wood, saddle cushions of wool, stirrups and spurs of wood, bits of wood or whalebone, and reins and headstalls of hide or hemp (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 114–15). As time went on, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* became accomplished and habitual horsemen, as they are today (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 44–49). The triangular great-toe stirrup (fig. 71) of cane was also used (Smith, 1855, p. 199). The lasso, used with great dexterity by the modern *Araucanian*, was probably introduced and spread

1/1 [i.e. The llama]

9-Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 BSI Accessions BSI

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic Shoshonean-Shoshonean culture (McCluskey, 1938, p. 46).

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 18th century. The use of the Iberian hunting-lance for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Holden (1878 b, p. 407) for the central chief of the 19th century.

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland Shoshonean-Shoshonean living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilcotin they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kinds of fish were taken, such as sculpins (Mugil sp.), flatfish (Pseudopleuronectes sp.), perches (Sebastes sp.), silversides (Atherinopsis regia), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (Strongylocentrotus sp.), crustaceans (Anphi sp. and Pandalus sp., and probably also various crabs of several species), and bivalves (Mytilus sp., Saxipidomus sp., Tellina sp., Unionidae, and others). Amphibians or sea-squirts (Pyura) were sought also for food.

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of sinews (Ovis spinosissima), and, later, of hemp; pounders and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 158); fishes of quids (Chenopsis sp.); hooks (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of brushes, used by the Indians of Chilcot (Oliveros, 1874, p. 302). Fish-bows also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Datura wrightii* (Fabrés, 1882, s. v. *thorin*; Hrdlička, 1908, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported.

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut.

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Orville, 1888, 13: 110; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40-41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or raw; and parched, or mixtu. From the first was made a bread, kuku, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked on cakes, or in pit ovens. A sort of heaven thereby was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 342 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of bracken, tuna, mesqu, and lamb. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.)

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

9:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentine Araucanians

113 before 1767, Falkner (1935) between circa 1744 and 1767, Amat y Junient (1927) circa 1760, Sánchez Labrador (1936), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876) last third of 18th century, Sors (1921) circa 1765–80, De la Cruz (1836) 1806, Poeppig (1835–36) 1826–28, D'Orbigny (1835–47) 1820, Barbará (1879, 1930), 1847–48 to circa 1856, Guinnard (1864) 1836–50, Cox (1863) 1862–63, Musters (1871) 1869–70, Mansilla (1877) 1870, Moreno (1879) 1874–77, Milanesio (1898) 1894–96, La Vaulx (1897–98, 1901) 1896–97. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbará's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine *Araucanians* is not nearly so abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

177 The culture of the Argentine *Araucanians* was distinctly a palimpsest one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic ancient *Araucanian* culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source material, are given in this section.

241 Among many of the Argentine *Araucanians*, horticulture, the basis productive economy of the Chilean *Araucanians*, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1935, pp. 26, 126; Cox, 1863, p. 96; Musters, 1871, pp. 70–71, 239; Milanesio, 1898, p. 39.) Sors (1921, 39:184) states that the *Pehuenche* ordinarily did not plant. The *Pehuenche* of Molina (1901, p. 263), De la Cruz (1836, p. 63), and Poeppig (1835–36, 1:381, 383) practiced no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and other livestock in fair abundance. Among many of the *Araucanians* farther east in the Piedmont and out on the Pampa, hunting, with the bolas and other weapons, entirely superseded horticulture.

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301 The *Pehuenche* men as well as women used to paint their faces and
302 arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Amat y Junient, 1927, 52:371; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136; Sors, 1921, 39:181.)

177 Among the new elements, mostly adopted from the non-*Araucanian* Pampean tribes, were: The bota de potro (Molina, 1901, p. 262; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 33); roasting meat by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1863, p. 189); the portable skin-covered tent of conical (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:382) or toldo (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 37; Cox, 1863, pp. 144–45) type; chicha of fermented algarroba beans (Mansilla, 1877, 2:45); chewing of otcho resin (Guinnard, 1864, p. 210); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantles (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 63; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235), and of a certain clay for rub-

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which is so basic to cultural history, the other to direct study of the problem of Araucanian resistance from narrow analysis of Spanish strength and weakness. It is apparent that understanding is to be found in the sphere of Araucanian cultural experience. In pursuing the former it is inevitable that questions immediately concerned should suggest a multitude of new ones laying deeper beneath the surface.[61] With more intensified study, surface appearances which now seem to be conclusive, will doubtless be proved to be more apparent than real. Even so, we can better understand why an observation made by an historian in the middle of the eighteenth century could, with small exception, have been made in the nineteenth:

> In a short time the Spanish conquered the three powerful empires of the American hemisphere, those of Peru, Mexico, and Bogotá, but the hundred and ninety years that have elapsed since the beginning of this conquest have not sufficed to end it with the subjugation of the Araucanians. Nor has the vast expenditure of fifty million pesos and known three 25,000 recruits, nor the effusion of blood that has been spilled there on, even though in the past century the King declared this war to be equal to those of Spain, Flanders, and Italy. Today the Araucanians possess the former provinces of Chile, from the Biobío River to the Straits of Chiloé, a hundred still they happen stumbling between the Cordillera and the sea. In the whole of this area the Spanish hold nothing but the fortified towns of Arauco and Valdivia: the Indians live in independence and enjoyment of their outward liberty.[62]

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61 One such problem is suggested by the contrast. In pre-Hispanic days the Araucanians were sedentary farmers of predominantly vegetarian habits. Frequent mention is made in the documents of a growing cattle economy, especially in Spanish sheep and goats. Inasmuch as warfare disrupted agricultural planning in the valleys, the Araucanians moved their fields to inaccessible sierras. It may be that lower yields in the mountains caused a greater need for animal foodstuffs to supplement lowered agricultural production. See, for example, Jerónimo de Bezoide to Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Nov. 15, 1563 (CHC, vol. 29, p. 498); Olaverría, pp. 36-38; Mariñoleja, pp. 76-77; Nájera, p. 23. The implications suggested in a shift of basic economy are highly significant and require further investigation.

62 Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 29). His statistics seem to be far from the mark. In 1664 the casualty figure, as Lacharon reports them, were 29,000 Spaniards and 60,000 Indian allies ("La especial guerra de los Araucanos," p. 34).

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brothers and sisters build little ruka together and play house in them while they tend the family's sheep or pigs, keeping them out of grain fields. If the herding is done close to another ruka, the children of that ruka join in the house playing." Little girls also build little ruka at home and play house in them. 824 857

During a noon hour schoolgirls 10 and 13 years of age played going on a visit. Three groups, three, four, and five girls, respectively, each prepared a habitation by clearing a place of grass and stones between two pine trees that stood in a row on the playground. Next, the girls scampered around to get material for their fireplaces—handfuls of dry grass, chips off fence posts, and little pieces of wood that lay around. "This is just like our fireplace at home," remarked one of the girls. She had laid the grass in the center of the cleared space, the chips on top of the grass, and then the pieces of wood in the position of spokes on a wheel on top of the chips. They then collected large mushrooms that grew under the pine trees. "This is our bread." All was ready now. Three small girls, who had been told to while away time at a distance, were invited to come in for a visit. Each group had a visitor then. "They are our visitors; we are playing visiting."

In general, children are fond of animals and treat them kindly. If a child has a pet, it is usually a chick or a kitten; less often a lamb. Dogs are not pets, not even of older boys—older boys favor a horse. In fact, neither children nor adults like dogs to be near them; a dog is shooed away with a "hutch" sound. A child is often seen making a pretense of throwing a stick or stone at a dog to keep it from coming nearer. When the dog stops barking or moves on, the child drops whatever it has and continues on its way. Older children or adults sometimes actually throw a stick or stone toward a dog to end its barking, but never aim it at the dog. In reality, everyone is kind to dogs. "We do not hit or kick a dog; a dog is man's protector. He protects the ruka and whatever is near it, such as sheep. He protects sheep from pumas too; pumas like to sneak into sheep corrals at night." A man going any distance on foot will take one or two dogs with him as a protection against pumas. To make a dog's bark sound ferocious, a pinch of chili is put into his food daily. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits definitely never, as they are classed with rats; "not even their meat is eaten." 231 857

Schoolchildren aged 10 to 15 listed animals that talked either to them or to other animals, as dogs, cats, hens, roosters, chicks, turkey gobblers, young turkeys, geese, horses, foals, cows, sheep, and partridges. No child, however, knew what any of these animals said. Other animals that talked, but only to animals of their own kind, were turkey 824 857

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onions, chili, garlic, and occasionally corn, radishes, and tomatoes. 247
Garden herbs used in seasoning are peppermint (yerba buena) and native mints, oregano, and manilla. The man or older son generally prepares the soil of the garden. The woman does the planting and directs older daughters, and sometimes younger sons and daughters who are old enough, in assisting her. Helpers may lay claim to parts of the garden and take the responsibility for them. "Small children will point out patches of potatoes, carrots, onions, etc.," said a teacher, "and will say, 'They belong to me: I planted them.'" Until the garden has sprouted, small girls, and sometimes boys too, must be on the alert to chase away the small green parrots, which also infest wheat fields at seeding time. Generally school-age children weed and hoe the garden with the help of the mother; or if the mother is incapacitated, her husband will take over.

Those who believe that wheat should be planted at the waning of the moon believe that potatoes and gardens should be planted at that time, also. Quoting a 50-year-old Colluripe man: "No, the effect does not lie in the earth; most certainly the earth is always the same; the effect lies in the moon. I follow the old custom, but, in truth, I do not have much faith in planting with the moon." [82]

Nearly every household has adopted items of European horticulture. 245
Rarely is a ruka seen that does not have one or more apple trees; an occasional one has a cherry, pear, or peach tree. Gooseberry bushes 247
also were seen occasionally. There were flowers in nearly every garden and often along fences or walls of rukas. A Colluripe family had a fenced-in flower garden that had been planted by the seven children of the family. It contained dahlias, hollyhocks, sweetpeas, bachelor buttons, pansies, daisies, and sunflowers. Seeds of vegetables and flowers were obtained at Mission stations, or bought at Chilean stores, or had been harvested from one's own or a relative's or friend's garden. Shade trees near rukas were often native pine trees, but a few homes had a eucalyptus or a chestnut tree, seeds of both having been brought into the areas in recent years by Europeans. (Pl. 21, *1*.)

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, GRAZING

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 703-705) domesticated 231
animals in the early days were the dog, used in hunting; the llama; maybe the guinea pig; and in the south, the guanaco. The llama was bred for its wool and to serve as a pack animal; it was used, also, in payment of the bride price and as a sacrifice in religious ceremonials. Its meat was eaten only at important social or religious feasts. Neither

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231 bees nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the llama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the guanaco.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs [426] to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price.

233 Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to [262 177] Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most [423] certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property!"

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to lease any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, choapinos and lamas—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lamas and choapinos as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent sana, a disease that causes them to lose their

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wool, the sheep are washed periodically with water mixed with human urine.

Every household has chickens, which are owned by women and children. The meat is readily eaten; the eggs are used only in the preparation of food, and then rarely. A certain breed—spoken of by non-Araucanians as the Araucanian chicken—is found in all areas; it has particularized tufts on the head and lays eggs of pastel pink and blue colors. Chickens are fed in the open, but are taken into the ruka to sleep and brood, to prevent foxes from taking them. An Alepúe woman who had worked as a domestic in a Chilean home could no longer tolerate her chickens in the ruka, she said, and consequently had a coop built for them (pl. 54, *3*). In general a hen is allowed to brood her eggs, but if eggs are wanted for food preparation, they are searched for in high grass or wherever a hen is heard cackling. If she is set, it is done at the waning of the moon, "the only time the moon has strength." Turkeys are raised for meat. They, too, are owned by women and children. Since they can protect themselves, no shelter is provided for them, and they roost on trees near the ruka.

Usually every household has several dogs. All are watchdogs, and must guard the sheep at night and the ruka and its inhabitants at all times. "It gives one a feeling of protection to have a dog nearby." A dog is trained to bark at anyone passing along the way, even at some distance from the ruka which he is guarding; he has been trained to dash out at full speed at anyone on a path that leads toward the ruka or passes close to it, but to halt just before he gets to the person, provided the person stands still and looks at him. By this time, generally, someone from the ruka—often a child—has come forward and either recalls the dog or walks toward the oncoming person; in either case the dog subsides. When a dog shows signs of laziness ("he becomes as lazy as a cat is at noon, you know"), he is given a pinch of chili in his food; this spurs him on and makes his bark sharp and fierce. A person who sets out to travel on foot through woods or ravines on the Coastal Range or in unfrequented or wooded regions of the Andes takes his dog with him as a protection against pumas. "Pumas detest dogs!" A dog is not allowed in the ruka; he is shooed out immediately if he enters it, even though he only pokes his head in at the door. "Why should he be in the ruka? He can protect himself. Chickens cannot; the fox will get them!"

Every household has at least one cat that is a mouser. Her place is in the ruka. During an interview a cat tried to get at some cheese which was being pressed under a weight. A little girl corrected her twice with a "tach" and she obeyed; at a third attempt, the little girl

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231 slapped her, whereupon she retired to her corner. "That cat was not trained right when she was a kitten," the mother explained.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are grazed in the same pasture, unless the owner has enough land to graze them separately. Grazing lands are burnt-over lands along creeks, rivers, or lake shores. In Boroa area care is exercised when a pasture is selected that it is free of cicuta mayor, a poisonous plant found among the grass in the area. "It is difficult now to find a pasture that does not have it; it has spread everywhere. If horses eat much of it, they die."

[417] Areas set aside for grazing are fenced in; so are wheat fields, potato patches, and gardens (pl. 1). Fences are of various kinds (pls. 36; 37, *1* and *2*): they may be saplings tied to posts with stout vine; they may consist of rails that rest in openings cut into posts (pl. 36, *4*); or they may be split tree trunks either set close together in upright position (pl. 36, *2*) or laid in such a way that animals cannot move them or edge their way through them (pl. 36, *3*). Horses, cattle, and sheep are not placed under shelter at any time. Pigs are kept in enclosures at the edge of running water, not too far from the ruka.

232 233 Animals afflicted with hoof and mouth disease are made to drink a decoction of huella, a plant collected on the shores of brooks where there is fast-running water, "something we learnt from the Chileans." For diarrhea, cattle are given a mixture of powdered leaves of centella and powdered ashes of cochayuyo, "something we have always done. I saw my father throw a ball of it into the mouth of a horse; it cured the horse," said a 12-year-old Alepúe boy.

233 922 Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded by the owner, or by another Araucanian whom he asks to do so. Cattle and horses are branded with the initials of the owner's given and family names; a piece of glowing hot iron is used. Sheep are marked in the ear, with a notch or hole or a similar mark.

233 Since pumas often take sheep at night, the sheep are usually corralled near the ruka toward evening, where the dogs are supposed to protect them. However, if a dog is not ferocious enough to ward off a puma, the sheep are put into an enclosure, 6 feet or more high, built of stocks of quila, which are either set close together in upright position or are built up, one above the other horizontally, and kept in position by being bent over and under successive upright posts that are set some distance apart (similar to the fence in pl. 37, *1*). If a puma persists in stealing sheep from such a corral, a second wall of quila like the first is built around the enclosure, approximately 3 feet away from it. "No puma is foolish enough to jump over two fences so

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close together! He knows he is taking a chance of falling between the fences and getting caught." 233

It is one of the chores of boys and girls of school age to fetch the family's sheep late in the afternoon and put them into the enclosure, and then in the morning to lead them to pasture before leaving home for school.

Children own animals, often from birth. Offspring of such animals also belong to the child. The following table gives samples of answers written by Alepún children to the question, "What animals do you own?" 231 422

TABLE 5.—*Child ownership of domestic animals*

Age and sex of child	Animals owned (child's statement)
15-year-old girl	One hen and her three chicks; one turkey hen and her eight little poults.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Remolino, one old ewe, two rams.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Curan, one young milch cow, one old ewe and her little ram lamb.
14-year-old girl	Three hens, four cows, one little calf.
14-year-old girl	One cat, two kittens, one dog. "I call the dog Pandero."
12-year-old boy	One sheep, one boar, one hen, one goose.
12-year-old girl	One old cow with a little unborn calf, two young milch cows, one calf, one mare and her colt, two chickens and three chicks.
12-year-old boy	Only a dog; "I call him Obsirante."
11-year-old boy	One ewe, one hen, and an old ox called Sambo.
5-year-old boy	Two turkey hens, ten turkey poults, one young ox, one dog and one cat.
5-year-old girl	A cow, a calf, two hens.

When the 5-year-old girl handed in her paper she commented with disappointment, "My sister wrote this because I cannot write those words. But she would not write down that the two hens each had chicks." Her little friend listening in said, "I had a chicken, too; but the fox came and ate it."

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING, COLLECTING SEAFOOD

Hunting and trapping, according to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 702-703), played a minor role in Araucanian economy in the past, and are practically never engaged in today. In the early days, Cooper reports, the principal large animals hunted for food were the guanaco, the huemul or guemal, and the pudú. Birds taken were the tinamou, the hauburria, parrots, doves, wild ducks, geese, and swans. The 224

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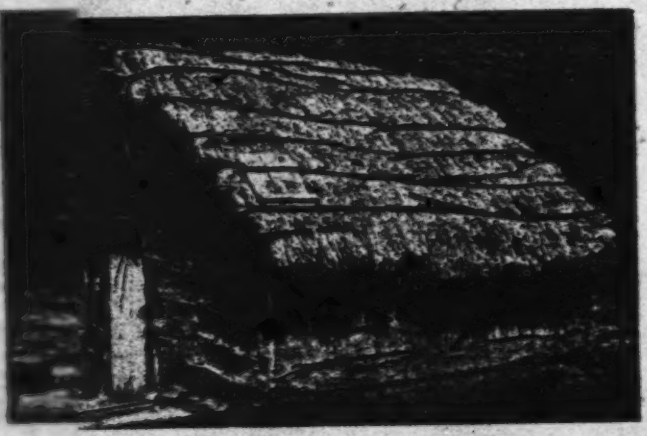

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A dwing, children, and view of Trumpul area: 1, A 1-room dwelling of adobe-plastered walls and thatched roof. Smoke is emitted at gable ends; light is imitted through opening in roof seen covered with boards. (Mallen.) 2, Schoolboy feeding his sick cat. (Notice his hairline and his Mongolian eklds.) (Quilaquina.) 3, Playing with sticks and romping in the meadow (Trumpul). 4, Mountain slopes on Lago Lacar inhabited by Araucanians (Trumpul). Cleared areas are wheat fields.

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Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, *s*).

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SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today.

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HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles criscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth.

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Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Olul, someone whom no one ever saw

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thus lessened, and pastures near the homesteads can grow to maturity for winter grazing. Grazing in the higher valleys needs no lease, and therefore no payment has to be made. Many homesteads are completely closed for the duration of summer grazing; in an occasional household two persons, seldom three, are left to care for chickens and other fowl. In Quilaquina area on January 4 (1952) there was not a 4-footed animal to be seen, and most homesteads looked deserted. Each family, on return from summer grazing, brings with it as much hay as it can haul. This is stored for winter forage, usually in shack-like shelters.

Wealth, in the early days, consisted of sheep and cattle; in more recent times, of horses also. Old informants spoke of large herds belonging to their families formerly. These were owned by the father. Children owned no animals. The husband of a 70-year-old woman had owned more than 100 horses, 60 cows, and several hundred sheep. No one can lay claim to wealth today. Ownership of 4-footed animals is now restricted by the Government—apportionment is per family, not according to the size of the family. One of my informants owned 5 calves and a large number of turkeys, geese, ducks, and chickens; another, 3 pairs of oxen, 5 horses, and several sheep; another, "just enough sheep for our meat supply"; and still another, 4 oxen, 5 horses, 32 sheep, 13 geese, turkeys, and chickens. Several families were raising doves for food.

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapolwa) were cultivated in the early days; wild quinoa and a species of wild barley (kawella) were collected. Today, wheat, barley (now called kawella), and oats (huinca kawella, barley of Whites) are raised by every family fortunate enough to have a glade or some cleared land. Dung of sheep and goats is utilized as fertilizer. In general, plowing is done with a wooden plow drawn by a pair of oxen (pl. 75, *1*). Men scatter seed by hand while walking across the fields.

Usually grain stored for winter use is consumed before ears of the newly planted grain have ripened. The first ripened ears of wheat are stripped off their stalks by hand, "as we used to strip off wild grain in the early days and all wheat before we had sickles," and are threshed in a basket with the feet, as formerly. At harvest time the grain is cut with a sickle and threshed by horses tramping on it in a fenced-in circular area, known as lila (pl. 75, *3*). If the lila is small, 5 or 6 horses do the tramping; if much larger, as many as 10 or 12 are used.

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The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish.

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmari to San Martín de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, 3). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumine (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, tolderías were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the araucaria (pl. 72, 3) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found.

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanín believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield.

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, 1; 70, 2; 78, 3); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain.

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231 417 The Government will not allow trees to be cut for fence making, and newly fallen trees are needed for firewood. Persons who need fences must, therefore, buy slats at lumber mills in the area—something few Araucanians can afford.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

231 In post-Columbian and pre-Argentine days each family owned a herd of domesticated horses to which tamed wild ones were added occasionally. Tamed wild cattle were also added to domesticated herds. Other domesticated animals were sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and, in recent years, turkeys and geese. Today an occasional family has a few goats.

[422] Animals were not branded. "Every owner knew his own, and everyone else knew to whom the animals belonged. The animals, too, knew where they belonged for they always came home no matter how far away they strayed. They do that today." The interpreter, born and reared in Patagonia, knew this to be true.

[552] Oxen are given names when being trained to haul. Names of pairs owned by informants were Valiente (valiant) and Parece (similar); Navegando (navigating) and Marenero (sailor); Coronel (colonel) and Cuidado (solicitude); Principio (beginning) and Recuerdo (remembrance).

A pre-Argentine breed of chicken (pio) known to non-Araucanians as the "Araucanian chicken" was seen about many homes. Three characteristics distinguish them: body feathers are of several colors; the head is tufted with feathers; and the shells of their eggs are pastel shades of blue, greenish blue, green, and yellowish pink. "That speckled gray-white hen over there with the tuft on her head lays bluish eggs; that one with the mixture of yellow, black, and red feathers lays yellowish-pink eggs." Chickens are fattened on the berries of michai. "Whenever I want to fatten one, I tell her [small daughter] to take it to where the berries of michai hang low. Chickens certainly know how to feed on those berries."

TRADE, EXCHANGE, CASH INCOME

439 The oldest informants recalled the days when the trade of the Araucanians extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Horses were traded with Pampa Indians of the Argentine plains and with Whites as far as Buenos Aires; cattle were traded with Whites as far as Valdivia in Chile; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north, the Guarani, Quechua, and Aymara. Non-Araucanian informants,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

RESERVATIONS

It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

Cooper (1946:709) lists more than twelve different food plants which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, depending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

243 [407] [433] amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

244 [960]

233 554 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former [262] aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

236 [962] Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

236 232

231 492 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 963 hectares, approximately 150 are
[31] cultivated, 90 are vega and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[324] rest either vega that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of vega and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the vega that exists is suitable for pas-
[24] turing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
[242] gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

●231 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 17 horses, and 234 sheep,
[339] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[222] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources
[226] were not tapped.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements,
864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court-
[836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual
[584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after
[592] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous.
[595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani-
[231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their
[561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions
864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge
[831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under
[831] the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is
[836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[p. 234]

Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

Most of the 513 hectares of reservation Alonqueo are utilized for field crops and *chacareria*, there being little woodland and little marshland unsuitable for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is customarily used to pasture oxen, cows, horses, and sheep.

In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by household (as numbered on Map II and Diagram I), the number of adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per household are cited.

Reservation Llancaman has 193 hectares, of which 181 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the *baja*.

On reservation Llancaman the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but uses so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original *radicados*, about five hectares each. Since the days of the *radicación*, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

Reservation Llancaman differs topographically and in soil types from reservation Alonqueo, insofar as land is classified as *altura* (high, dry, and good for wheat), *baja* (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and potatoes), and *vega* (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonqueo, most of the land there is *altura*, that which is not being negligible.

The outstanding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is

[See Cat. 116, pp. 32 and 93 respectively --Analyst]

[Reservation Alongueo]

CHART I

[5] A	HOUSEHOLDS Adults	Minors	Absent males	TOTAL LAND Fields	Hectares	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED Sheep	Cattle	Horses	HECTARES Sheared/ Rented Half-shares owned	Half-shares rented	Rent owed	ANIMALS Sheared/ Rented Half-shares owned	Half-shares rented	Journal	Journal	
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	1	0	6M*	0	6M	0	x	x	162
2)	11	7	(2)	18	110	50	18	4	0	0	0	0	0	x		597
3)	1	3	(4)	5	15	80	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			4
4)	1	1	(2)	4	14	80	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			123
5)	1	1	(2)	3	14	80	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			122
6)	1	0	(2)	1	80	200	5	1	0	0	0	6M	0	x	x	423
7)	3	1	(2)	3	25	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0			231
8)	1	0	(1)	1	5	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0			9
9)	3	1	(2)	4	7	30	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x		27
10)	4	0	(4)	4	80	50	8	0	0	0	0	0	0			24
11)	4	1	(1)	6	7	30	4	0	0	0	0	0	0			
12)	1	0	(2)	1	10	15	5	1	10C*	0	0	0	0		x	
13)	3	1	(2)	3	10	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x	
14)	3	4	(2)	7	48	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	3M	0	15C	x	x	
15)	3	0	(2)	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0			
16)	3	4	(2)	7	30	80	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			
17)	3	1	(1)	3	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x	
18)	1	0	(2)	1	80	80	0	0	80M	0	0	0	0	x		
19)	1	4	(2)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x	
20)	1	1	(2)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
21)	3	1	(2)	7	15	8	2	0	8C	0	4	0	4		x	
22)	1	0	(2)	1	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?			
23)	1	1	(2)	1	8	80	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			
24)	1	3	(2)	3	6	0	2	0	8C	0	0	0	0		x	
25)	1	3	(2)	3	6	0	0	0	8C	0	0	0	0		x	
26)	7	4	(2)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0*	0	0	15M	x		
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
	Absent		1		18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x	
	Totals															
	80	53	(75)	138	513	983	100	15	113	14	27	66	34			

* M = with Mapuche.
* C = with Chilean.

[Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on MAP II (see Cat. 116, P. 32)--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llaneumen which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilitue lies just to the north of Llaneumen. It has an area of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llaneumen.

[33] [Reservation Llaneumen]

CHART 2

HOUSEHOLDS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Owned/ Rented			ANIMALS Owned/ Rented			

III Farm E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

[Reservation Holland]

APPENDIX A 937

CHART 3

HOUSEHOLDS			TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Owned/ Rented		ANIMALS Owned/ Rented				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Penek,' whence I believe the name Pehuelche has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province of Santa Fé, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chenna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzaneros, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees; once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilise these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilised in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very tolerable cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the beans of the algarroba. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trade at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Arica arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his toldo, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which argued badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named

* Also called Poyel.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

A T 525

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

A T 525 231

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

A T 222 137

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entiraly on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

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T A 133 137 stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

A 231 422 In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately A [417] behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round T A this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe, 361 and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and A even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses. 342 Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

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other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear himself away from civilized pleasures for a long period.

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from the effects of Cheoeque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches, thanks to the profuse generosity of Cheoeque, disposed of all their wares to advantage, and became the happy possessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils. Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers. The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manzaneros more resembled those used in the Argentine States than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting.

The second parlemento or council, attended by numerous chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, participated. He was a connection by marriage of Cheoeque's, and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely resembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. Cheoeque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them, but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was probable that he might send a small force to assist his countrymen.

Calficura's message relating to the foray on the settlements